

**Supplementary Materials Supporting the 11/17/2022 Presentation by
Ronald B. Gammill, PhD and John F. Conour entitled: "The Significance
and Attribution of Lafayette Medallions and Medalets**

A Thesis: Some New Revelations Concerning the Oval Gold and Silver Lafayette Medals, the Washington-Lafayette Medalets and Corresponding Counterstamps of 1824. The “Conventional Wisdom” Used to Attribute the Dies for the Washington-Lafayette Medalet and Counterstamps of 1824 to C. C. Wright Remain Well Founded.

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Background & Introduction

When asked today, there is little doubt among historians and numismatists that the Marquis de Lafayette's 1824-1825 return visit to America was one of the most historic events in the early 19th century. General Lafayette visited each of the 24 states, rekindled relationships with old friends and, in many appearances, seemed to mesmerize citizens with his untiring generosity and eagerness to meet and greet those attending events honoring his contributions to the American Revolution. While there were lavish celebrations in many cities, perhaps two of the most extravagant and notable were the *Fete at the Castle Garden* on September 15th in New York City and the September 27th Grand Ball in Holmesburg, Pennsylvania, a small village on the outskirts of Philadelphia. The crowds for these celebrations numbered into the tens of thousands, a trend that extended throughout Lafayette's tour of America.

The commercial interest generated by Lafayette's 1824-25 visit is also noteworthy and perhaps best illustrated by the numerous New York City and Philadelphia merchants offering an assortment of textiles (ribbons, gloves, belts and handkerchiefs) with engraved impressions of Lafayette by A. B. Durand and C. C. Wright on them. James A. Campfield offered Lafayette buttons engraved and signed by C. C. Wright, and there were the extremely rare and exquisite miniature likenesses in medallions of General Lafayette in fine gold

and silver. These medallions were oval in shape and had impressions of General Lafayette on both the obverse and reverse with his name surrounding the portraits. These Oval Gold and Silver Lafayette Medals (see **Figure 1 and 2**) were chosen by NYC's Castle Garden Committee in August of 1824 as their official badge medal for the *Fete at the Castle Garden* on September 10th, 1824. These Lafayette Medallions were heavily advertised in both New York City by merchant Joseph Lewis and medalists J. D. Stout and Robert Lovett, Sr. In Philadelphia the medallions were advertised and sold by merchants Thomas Anners, John Stiles, Mrs. E. G. Callender, Miss Papagay, Charles Fletcher and Ash & Mason. They were also advertised in other locations during Lafayette's 1824-1825 tour including New Orleans (Louisiana), Charleston (South Carolina), Tuscumbia (Alabama), Lexington (Kentucky), Boston (Massachusetts) and Buffalo (New York).

Figure 1



Gold Oval Lafayette Medallion

Figure 2



Silver Oval Lafayette Medallion

The origin and historical significance of these medallions has gone completely unnoticed and unexamined by both numismatist and historians, most likely a result of them being viewed as souvenirs and/or jewelry. However, as we describe below, the Oval Lafayette Medallions of Gold and Silver were the exclusive metallics being advertised and sold during Lafayette's 1824/5 return visit to America.

In a 2000 article in *The Commemorative Trail*, John M. Kleeberg stated: "But on September 20, 1824, Joseph Lewis advertised in the Philadelphia National Gazette saying that he had sold over 2000 gold and silver medallions with a

portrait of Lafayette on one side and Washington on the other. This description fits our counterstamp (**see Figure 4**)". The counterstamp he is referring to is from the dies used to strike the famous Washington–Lafayette Medalet of 1824 (**See Figure 3**). Kleeberg's statement cannot be verified and is troublesome in its perplexing factuality. We have more to say about Kleeberg's analysis below. There was in fact a September 24th advertisement in the Philadelphia National Gazette by Booksellers/Stationers Ash & Mason that read as follows; "*Lafayette Medals of Gold & Silver - Having on them impressions of Washington and Lafayette, such as have been recommended to be worn at the approaching Grand Ball.*" This is the only advertisement mentioning both Washington and Lafayette in conjunction with a medallie during the September-October 1824 advertising timeframe in New York City and Philadelphia. Kleeberg, and subsequently others, interpreted Ash & Mason advertisement as the introduction of a new medallie, namely the Washington-Lafayette Medalet of 1824.

Figure 3



Washington-Lafayette Medalet of 1824

Figure 4



Washington-Lafayette Counterstamp

We believe the Ash & Mason advertisement to be inaccurate for several reasons. First, Ash & Mason (139 Chesnut Street) were located next door to Thomas Anners (141 Chesnut Street) and based on the similarities of their advertisements, and proximity, it is hard to believe they were selling different Lafayette medals. Secondly, there is no convincing evidence that a gold Washington-Lafayette medalet exists. W.S. Baker makes the following comment regarding a gold issue in his 1885 *Medallic Portraits of Washington*: “An impression in gold, has come under the notice of the writer”. That statement is rather ambiguous, did he see one or had he heard of one? All references to date (i.e., Fuld, Rulau and Musante) point to Baker’s statement as evidence for the existence of a gold specimen. However, the lack of discovery of such a specimen certainly weakens the reality of the statement in our opinion. Perhaps what had “come under the notice of the writer” was a gold Lafayette Medallion, the only verifiable issue known to exist. In short, we believe Booksellers/Stationers Ash & Mason were selling the Oval Lafayette Gold and Silver medallions their neighbor Thomas Anners had secured from NYC supplier Joseph Lewis. There were many textiles being made and sold in the Philadelphia market that had “Impressions of Washington and Lafayette” on them and the lack of evidence of a gold Washington & Lafayette medalet strongly suggest that their reference to “impressions of Washington and Lafayette” was referring to textiles, and not a medallic.

The Washington–Lafayette Medalet of 1824 was actually not accurately described until 1861 in James R. Snowden’s book, “*The Medallic Memorials of Washington in the Mint of the United States*”. Snowden’s description listed under **Plate XV** reads as follows: **No.65. Lafayette Medalet.- Obverse. Undraped bust of Washington, facing to the left. Legend. George Washington. Reverse. Undraped bust of Lafayette, facing to the right. Beneath is the date 1824. Legend. General Lafayette. Size 18. This medalet was struck at the time of Lafayette’s visit to this country, and worn, in the procession which escorted him, as the badge of honor, being furnished with a ring for that purpose.** Interestingly, in Plate XV one does not find a picture or illustration of the Washington - Lafayette medalet, rather, Snowden illustrates the medalet’s Washington and Lafayette dies as they appeared on a counterstamped 1819 large cent. Snowden was the first to report and illustrate the use of the Washington

and Lafayette dies to counterstamp a US large cent (**see Figure 4**). Snowden failed to provide any insight into the engraver/die cutter responsible for preparing these dies. Snowden began his acquisition of Washington medallics in 1859 and the fact that he did not have an example of the medalet speaks to their rarity in the mid-19th century

Kleeberg's Challenge to the Wright Attribution

The attribution of the Washington and Lafayette dies to Charles Cushing Wright was first established in W. Elliot Woodward's 1864 sale of the John F. McCoy collection and the Levick, Osborn, Ilsley and Abbey Collections. C. C. Wright attributions continued with Robert B. Chambers in 1866, Mickley in 1867, Holland in 1878 and Isaac Woods in 1894 just to mention a few notable numismatists that comprise the "Conventional Wisdom" of the 19th Century. Those early attribution to C. C. Wright held firmly from 1864 - 2008 and was supported by Wright's contemporaries, noted collectors, and cataloguers of the 19th and 20th century.

Despite that long-held attribution to C. C. Wright, noted numismatist and Washington-Lafayette medalet/counterstamp enthusiast Q. David Bowers has at different times in the recent past both supported and questioned the Wright attribution. However, it was John M. Kleeberg's challenge to the Wright attribution, completely relying upon newspaper advertisements during Lafayette's 1824-1825 return visit to America, that seemed to convince the numismatic community that New York City merchant, engraver and artist, Joseph Lewis was responsible for engraving, cutting the dies and manufacturing the Washington and Lafayette medalets and corresponding counterstamps. Following Fuld's 2002 *American Journal of Numismatics* article in which he also endorsed the Joseph Lewis attribution, it appears that Kleeberg's attribution of Joseph Lewis gained wide, if not total, acceptance within the numismatic community by 2008.

Who is Joseph Lewis?

Our interest in finding more information about the dies used to strike the medalets and counterstamps originated from our observation of a striking abnormality associated with the Washington die that appeared on several counterstamped US large cents (**see Figure 5**). Being interested in large cent die varieties and die states ourselves, we first directed our attention to the Washington and Lafayette dies, and asked, "*Who was the engraver/die cutter?*" In surveying the more recent auction reports for both the medalets and counterstamps, we very quickly found ourselves asking a second question, "Who is Joseph Lewis?" That is, what evidence was presented to the numismatic community to challenge the long-held attribution of those dies to Charles Cushing Wright? Based on our survey of the literature, we were surprised that the overturning of 145 years of "conventional wisdom" happened so quickly

Figure 5



Imaged by Heritage Auctions, HA.com

'ERT' From Host Coin is Prominent in the Top of Washington's Head

and was so widely accepted. Was the John F. McCoy attribution ever challenged? This was even more puzzling when we were unable to find any evidence that Joseph Lewis had ever been identified as a medalist. Lewis self-identified himself as an "engraver and artist" and his newspaper advertisements were consistent with the marketing and sales of items such as copper plates, engraving instruments, business and visiting cards, card cases, pens, pocket and sportsmen knives, coats of arms, and a plethora of imported goods

from London, Paris and other fashionable locations in Europe. That suggested to us that Lewis' involvement would have been a single impromptu numismatic event and that didn't seem to be a plausible or likely event given that we could not find any evidence that Joseph Lewis had ever actually sunk a die.

Kleeberg's challenge to the Wright attribution was first advanced in a November 20, 1999, presentation to the Coinage of the Americas Conference (COAC). A reviewer of that presentation reported in Coin World (Monday, December 13, 1999) as follows:

"Dr. Kleeberg demolished the Wright theory, by pointing out that, separately, Wright had created memorial buttons depicting Lafayette for the 1824-1825 visit, such buttons being made by Scovill Manufacturing Co. in Waterbury, Conn. The portrait of Lafayette is completely unlike that in the counterstamp. Who did make the counterstamp? Kleeberg explored several possibilities, finding the most likely issuer one Joseph Lewis, of New York, who advertised on Sept 4, 1824, medals with Washington's portrait on one side and Lafayette's on the other, tying in nicely. Ever careful, Kleeberg noted that the jury is still in recess, as several others advertised Lafayette medallions for sale in 1824, but none mentioned as having both portraits on either side."

However, as noted above, we have been unable to verify the factual assertion that Joseph Lewis, on September 20, 1824, advertised a medal with impressions of both Washington and Lafayette.

In Kleeberg's 2000 *Rare Coin Review* article entitled, "*The Washington and Lafayette Counterstamp of 1824 was the work of Joseph Lewis, not C. C. Wright*", he elaborated on his contrarian point of view and concluded that, "*with some degree of certainty about this counterstamp, it was not made by C. C. Wright.*" Kleeberg's evidence supporting his Lewis attribution, which in our opinion is highly questionable, suggested to us that the Lewis attribution requires additional analysis and validation.

The 2000 Rare Coin Review article further suggested that Joseph Lewis, J. D. Stout, Robert Lovett, Sr., or possibly someone who had not advertised, might be the engravers responsible for the Washington-Lafayette medalet dies. However, as we have maintained, there was no evidence that any of these men had a connection, via advertising or otherwise, with a medallic displaying both Washington and Lafayette on it! Interestingly, missing from the above possible engravers were the names of Charles Cushing Wright, Richard Trested and James Bale. None of these engravers/die sinkers, advertised Lafayette medallics during the timeframe in question. Joseph Lewis never advertised a Washington-Lafayette medalet, he only advertised the “Lafayette Medallions of Gold and Silver” (**Figures 1 & 2**). The article continued, “*whoever advertised the most, must have also made the Washington-Lafayette Medalet.*” Finally, Kleeberg concluded, based on his review of New York City and Philadelphia newspaper advertisements, that:

"Unfortunately, none of these three advertisements (i.e., Lovett, Stout & Lewis) describe the medallion in enough detail. But on September 20, 1824, Joseph Lewis advertised in the Philadelphia National Gazette saying he had sold over 2000 gold and silver medallions with a portrait of Lafayette on one side and Washington on the other. This description fits our counterstamp."

Based on our review of all the relevant newspaper advertisements, we found key elements of this statement to be factually incorrect. In our review of the relevant advertisements, we found the following:

- 1) *J. D. Stout did provide, in his September 9th advertisement, a very accurate description of the gold and silver Lafayette Medallions, which clearly differentiates them from the Washington-Lafayette medalets (see **Figure 3**).*
- 2) *There is no evidence that Joseph Lewis advertised in the Philadelphia National Gazette on September 20th or any other date in September or October of 1824.*
- 3) *It was Thomas S. Anners who revealed that Lewis had sold 2000 oval Lafayette Medallions in a 10-day period, not Lewis.*

- 4) Lewis supplied Anners with Lafayette Medallions from NYC (**Figures 1 and 2**) which were the same as those adopted by the Castle Garden Committee.
- 5) Thomas S. Anners, in turn, supplied other local Philadelphia merchants with gold and silver Lafayette Medallions to sell.
- 6) Lewis never mentioned "Washington and Lafayette" in any of his New York City advertisements.
- 7) Stationers, Ash and Mason were the only merchants that mentioned "Washington and Lafayette" and they did not disclose their source.
- 8) The description of the Lafayette medallions detailed in Lewis', Stout's, Lovett's, and Anners' advertisements does not match that of the Washington-Lafayette medalet or counterstamp as suggested by Kleeberg's articles.
- 9) The Kleeberg article conflated the Lafayette Medallion advertisements of Lewis, Stout, Lovett and Anners with the single Ash and Mason advertisement in hopes of persuading the reader to believe that all the advertisements were relating to and describing the Washington-Lafayette medalets, which was not the case.

Unfortunately, the articles inaccuracies noted above went unreported and unchallenged, and in 2008 Kleeberg continued to maintain his position in a paper published in the American Journal of Numismatics (Second Series), Vol. 20 (pg. 585), entitled, Washington Counterstamp - the Lafayette Connection. In the abstract of that paper he states, "Baker 198, traditionally attributed to C. C. Wright, probably was issued by Joseph Lewis". "The production, distribution and advertisement of the Lafayette medalets explain who made the Washington counterstamps." But once again, Kleeberg provides no evidence as to: 1) Lewis' experience or expertise as a medalist, 2) examples or comparisons of letter punches Lewis might have used in his own work during the 1824 - 1826 timeframe, 3) evidence of medallic works signed or unsigned by Lewis; and finally, 4) evidence that Lewis had ever engraved or cut a die with a portrait of Lafayette, or for that matter, any other numismatic portrait.

In his 2008 article he stated: "*That by reading through all the advertisements, it becomes clear that Lewis's medalet depicted Washington on one side and Lafayette on the other-exactly like our counterstamp*". That statement has no factual basis. Again, we found no evidence connecting Joseph Lewis with an advertisement in which he mentions a medallic with portraits of both Washington and Lafayette. Nonetheless, the 2008 article concluded, "*that C. C. Wright did not make the dies used to strike the Washington-Lafayette counterstamps.*"

What the Newspaper Advertisements Really Show

The first official medallics issued honoring Lafayette's return visit to America were clearly the Oval Gold and Silver Lafayette Medals/Medallions (**Figure 1 and 2**) which had been approved by the Committee for the Ball in anticipation of the Grand Fete at the Castle Garden Ball in New York city on August 13th 1824. While the first newspaper advertisement, offering textiles with an impression of Lafayette's likeness on fabric first, appeared in an advertisement by James A. Campfield on August 25th, the first advertisement of "*Exquisite Miniature Likenesses in Medallion of Gen Lafayette*" did not appear until September 3rd in a New York Evening Post advertisement by Joseph Lewis which read:

*The Evening Post (New York, New York) (9/3/1824). No 3 Wall Street. Lewis, engraver and artist in general. TO THE BEAU MONDE - **Exquisite Miniature Likenesses in Medallion of Gen Lafayette**, in fine gold and silver, worn as broaches, watch trinkets etc.*

Then on September 6th and 9th, 1824, well-known Philadelphia and New York City medalist Robert Lovett, Sr., ran the following advertisement in the New York Evening Post:

*The Evening Post (New York, New York) (September 6th & 9th), Robert Lovett, 249 Broadway, corner of Murray St. **Lafayette Medals**. An excellent Likeness of Gen. Lafayette in gold and silver intended to be worn at the Grand Ball on the tenth, for sale by the subscriber, the only good likeness yet executed in medallion.*

Also on September 7th, 8th and 9th, New York City jeweler and engraver J. D. Stout advertised in the *New York Evening Post* and provided a more concise description of the medallions that he, entrepreneur Joseph Lewis, medalist Robert Lovett, Sr. and other merchants were advertising and selling under the headline, "Lafayette Medals". Stout's advertisement read:

The Evening Post (New York, New York) (9/7/1824) J. D. Stout, Engraver in general. The subscriber offers for sale at No 8 Wall Street, near Broad Street and next door is the church, Miniature Medals in medallion of this illustrious personage, whose name is in full round the heads, which are gold on one side, and silver on the other. As they have been made expressly for the Castle Garden Ball, which is to take place on the 10th, are particularly recommended for the badge jewel.

In Stout's advertisement several key aspects of the medallions become well defined. There is a gold and a silver medallion. Lafayette's portrait is on both the obverse and reverse, and Lafayette's name appears above both portraits. Based on Lewis', Lovett's and Stout's descriptions, the gold oval Lafayette medallion shown in **Figure 1** and the silver oval Lafayette medallion in **Figure 2** clearly match the descriptions of the medallions being advertised and sold in both New York City and Philadelphia during September/October of 1824. It was these "Lafayette Medals of Gold and Silver", which had been adopted by the *Committee for the Ball* on August 13, 1824, as their official badge medals, which were to be worn at the Fete honoring Lafayette at the Castle Garden Ball. In another advertisement by Joseph Lewis, appearing on September 8th, 1824, in the *New York Evening Post*, Lewis further reveals that the *Committee* (i.e., *Castle Garden Ball*), responsible for organizing the Fete at the Castle Garden, had ordered these Lafayette medallions from him for the upcoming ball and related celebrations. That advertisement clearly established Lewis as a source and distributor of the gold and silver Lafayette medallions and is consistent with his other business advertisements. However, Lewis' September 8th advertisement, as do all other New York City ads, failed to mention, or establish who was responsible for making the dies or the manufacture of the Lafayette medallions. Importantly, in all of the September 1824

advertisements appearing in *The New York Evening Post*, there was no mention or suggestion of Washington appearing on these medallions. There are, however, mentions of textile impressions by noted engravers A. B. Durand and C. C. Wright, as well as a die by C. C. Wright which was used to produce Lafayette buttons, which clearly link both gentlemen with the Lafayette portrait and die work. Our understanding, from literature and news reports, strongly suggests that the textile work and gloves in particular, were quite likely in higher demand by the public.

The Evening Post (New York, New York), (9/8/1824) J. D. Stout. Lafayette Gloves. They are embellished with an excellent likeness of the General, **engraved by Durand and Wright**. Lafayette Medals of Gold and Silver, with the name of the General round the head, and a neat border encircling the whole, may also be had of J. D. Stout, 8 Wall St. These Medals are particularly recommended for the Badge Jewel, together with the Badge attached thereto.

The Evening Post (New York, New York), (9/9/1824) J. D. Stout. Lafayette Gloves. They are embellished with an excellent likeness of the General, **engraved by C. C. Wright**. Lafayette Medals of Gold and Silver, with the name of the General round the head and a neat border encircling the whole, may also be had of J.D. Stout, 8 Wall St, These Medals are particularly recommended for the Badge Jewel, together with the Badge attached thereto.

In Philadelphia, merchant Thomas S. Anners made it clear in his first five advertisements in the *Philadelphia National Gazette* (September 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 25th, see below) that his “large supply” of “*Lafayette Gold and Silver Medals*” were from New York City, and importantly, they were the same as those worn at the Grand Fete at the Castle Garden Ball in that city. This clearly and unambiguously establishes and connects Anners’ Lafayette medallions with the New York City distributor Joseph Lewis and the *Committee for the Ball*, and further adds that upwards of 2000 of the Lafayette medallions had been sold in New York City during a 10-day period. Anners’ advertisement read:

“Lafayette Gold and Silver Medals – Just received from New York, a large supply of the above Medals, of the most approved pattern, and of the

same kind as was worn at the Grand Fete at Castle Garden in that city, upwards of 2000 of which were sold in ten days."

Then, on September 27th, 29th and 30th and on October 1st and 5th, Anners modified his advertisement (see below) stating that his medals were: "Lewis's *New York Lafayette Medals*". Thus, Anners' medals were the same as those sold by Joseph Lewis, J. D. Stout and Robert Lovett, Sr. in New York City. Anners does not say or even remotely suggest that Joseph Lewis made the dies or manufactured the Lafayette medallion. Lewis was simply selling and distributing the medallions and there is no mention of Joseph Lewis' supplier!

"Lewis's New York Lafayette Medals – The above medals are such as was adopted and worn at the Grand Fete at Castle Garden in New York, by the ladies and gentlemen of that city; they being considered as one of the neatest and most appropriate compliments to him. Philadelphia National Gazette, (9/27, 29 1824). Thos. S Anners, No 141 Chesnut Street; Mrs. E. G. Callender, Fourth Street, one door above Walnut Street; Miss Papagay, Walnut Street, on door below Fifth Street and Charles Fletcher, North-East corner of Third and Chestnut Street."

We understand that Anners' advertisements clarify that Joseph Lewis was his New York City supplier, and it further confirms that Anners was, in turn, supplying these same Lafayette medallions to his neighboring merchants in Philadelphia.

Once again, there is no advertisement suggesting that Washington appeared on any medallic being advertised by Joseph Lewis, J. D. Stout, Robert Lovett, Sr., or Thomas S. Anners during the September or October 1824 timeframe. What has been described thus far in the newspaper advertisements from NYC and Philadelphia are the Lafayette medallions illustrated in **Figures 1 and 2**, and not the Washington-Lafayette medalets as illustrated in **Figure 3**.

While the dies for the Oval Lafayette medals were not signed, just as the Washington-Lafayette medalet (**Figure 3**) dies were not signed, we believe engraver/die-cutter Richard Trested, along with his apprentice James Bale,

are the most likely responsible for the dies and manufacture of these Oval Lafayette Medallions. This is based on Richard Trested's well established die-sinking business at 68 & 70 William Street in New York City which easily provided both the technology and a facility capable of producing quantities of both the gold and silver medallions. In addition, and to be established with absolute certainty that **Figures 1 and 2** represent the same oval gold and silver Lafayette medals described in the newspaper advertisements of 1824, we offer the descriptive auction records from the Joseph J. Mickley Esq. Collection of Philadelphia. Oct. 28th, 1867: (Lot 2855: Oval silver medal, bearing on each side the head and inscription, "General Lafayette;" fine and very rare, 11), the Henry W. Holland and Seth H. Chadbourne Collections, New York, November 11th - 16th, 1878: (Lot 3314 is described as: Bust facing right, in gold attached to a silver plate; rev. another bust of Lafayette facing right; silver, fine, probably unique, 11 X 8), the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection: Part XXIII August 14 & 16, 2013: Lot 21250.(ca. 1825-1830) General Lafayette Oval Medalet. Damascened Silver. 17 x 13 mm. Fuld L.A.M.12. Choice Mint State. Original suspension loop remains. A beautiful little medalet, with a portrait bust of Lafayette on each side, one richly gilt and extraordinarily toned around the gilt (Damascened) portrait in jade, blue, and violet. The other side is lustrous, lightly reflective, and likewise beautifully toned. An exquisitely done production. Earlier from the F. C. C. Boyd Collection. Also Lot 21251. (ca. 1825-1830) General Lafayette Oval Medalet. Silver. 17 x 13 mm. Fuld L.A.M.12. Choice About Uncirculated. Original suspension loop remains. Another, as above, but simply struck in silver instead of Damascened. Lightly toned and lustrous, reflective light silver gray. A beautiful and problem-free piece. Finally, from W. S. Appleton's 1871 treatise on *Medals of Lafayette*, where he gives a description of both a Washington-Lafayette medalet and a silver oval Lafayette medallion: **XII.** GENERAL LAFAYETTE 1824; head facing the right. Rev. GEORGE WASHINGTON; head facing the left. Silver, size 9. **XXI.** GENERAL LA FAYETTE ; head facing the right. Rev. as the Obv. Silver, oval, 10 1/2 by 8.

Lafayette Medals with Impressions of Washington and Lafayette

As we stated in our introduction, the first and only mention of a medallic, bearing the portrait of both *Washington* and *Lafayette* did not appear until September 24th, some three weeks after the first mention of the oval gold and

silver Lafayette medals. While Ash and Mason headlined their advertisement in a similar manner to Stout, Lewis, and Anners as “Lafayette Medals of Gold & Silver” with the remaining description “having on them impressions of both Washington and Lafayette” stands in stark contrast with all the other Lafayette related advertisements we have been able to uncover. Without doubt, as discussed above, Ash and Mason were selling the same medallic as Thomas Anners who business was adjacent to Ash & Masons. In our review of the 1824 and 1825 newspaper advertisements offering *Lafayette medals* for sale, Ash & Mason hold the distinction of being the only merchants who advertised “Lafayette Medals of Gold and Silver. “Having on them impressions of both Washington and Lafayette”. We believe the Ash and Mason advertisement, which suggests the existence of both gold and silver Washington-Lafayette medalets, was incorrectly constructed by these booksellers. We base that conclusion on the fact that there are no reports, or credible evidence, of a gold Washington-Lafayette medalet, outside of this advertisement.

We now understand that everyone in New York City and Philadelphia were advertising and selling the same Oval Gold and Silver Lafayette Medallions illustrated in **Figures 1 & 2**. We failed to find any evidence in the newspaper advertisements, or elsewhere, linking Joseph Lewis to Philadelphia stationers Ash and Mason, or to Ash and Mason’s medal bearing portraits of both Washington and Lafayette. There is simply no evidence of a connection between Joseph Lewis and the Washington-Lafayette medalet (**Figure 3**).

Summary and Conclusion

The Oval gold and silver Lafayette Medals of 1824 (**Figures 1 and 2**) were the first and exclusive medallics being advertised and sold as “badge medals” for the Fete at the Castle Garden Ball in New York City on September 10th, 1824.

Kleeberg's 2000 and 2008 papers sought to change the long-held attribution of the Washington and Lafayette dies from C. C. Wright to Joseph Lewis. His attempt was primarily grounded in using elements of dissimilarity coupled with the number of New York Evening Post advertisements by Joseph Lewis

during September 1824. However, while the subject of Kleeberg's papers, addressing the dies used to produce the Washington-Lafayette medalets and counterstamps, he mistakenly relied on the descriptive advertisements of Lewis, Lovett, Stout, and Anners, who were clearly describing, advertising, and selling only the gold and silver Lafayette medallions (**Figures 1 and 2**). Kleeberg's primary source of evidence was monumentally incorrect. For the reasons given above, it is quite clear to us, and we hope to the numismatic community, that Kleeberg's attribution to Joseph Lewis is incorrect! Our reexamination of the numismatic literature and newspaper sources continues to strongly support the long-held attribution, established by Wright's contemporaries, auction records and noted numismatists, that Charles Cushing Wright was most likely responsible for the dies used to strike the Washington-Lafayette medalets and counterstamps.

Finally, we firmly establish that the Oval Gold and Silver Lafayette Medals of 1824 are the first and most significant US medallic issued to celebrate General Lafayette's monumental return visit to America, a critical point of American History. We believe the dies used to create these gold and silver medallions were likely the work of Richard Trested and his apprentice James Bale. However, there is additional contemporary evidence (W. Elliot Woodward's May 1864 auction of the John F. McCoy, Esq. Collection) involving a Lafayette die trial attributed to C. C. Wright, suggesting interesting similarities between both the oval Lafayette medallions and the Washington-Lafayette medalet. That is amply described in our NNP Presentation.

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